



Quarterly Report
MONTENEGRO: POLITICAL PARTY BUILDING AND
CIVIC DEVELOPMENT
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I. SUMMARY

Many observers expected that Slobodan Milosevic's fall from power in October 2000 would defuse the political crisis between Serbia and Montenegro, which together comprise the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. However, following Milosevic's downfall Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic has sharpened his stance on Montenegrin independence despite Belgrade's desire to maintain the federation.

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) remains committed to supporting democratic reforms in Montenegro as it addresses the continued need for internal political liberalization as well as economic and democratic reforms, either as a part of Yugoslavia or as an independent country. The long-term goal of NDI's Montenegro program is to strengthen Montenegro's emerging democratic political system through increased organizational capacity of and improved public outreach by political parties and through the initiation of direct participation in the political process by nongovernmental organizations as a means to promote civil society and broad-based citizen participation in political affairs. The specific objectives of NDI's program in 2001 are that political parties begin to implement democratic forms of internal debate and decision-making; political parties increase their direct contact with voters and solicit feedback from the grassroots on party positions; party municipal branches and other functional units become more active in the life of their party; political parties improve the work of their caucuses inside parliament and more effectively integrate the caucus into general party activities including voter contact and media strategies; and existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government.

In advance of extraordinary parliamentary elections scheduled for April 22, NDI conducted the following activities this quarter:

- Trained 461 individuals, including 439 political party leaders and activists and 22 journalists on campaign planning and media presentations;

- Assisted the Center for Democratic Transition (CDT) with drafting a Code of Conduct for political parties during an election campaign and helped the group prepare for campaign and election-day monitoring;
- Worked with the Association of Young Journalists (AYJ) to develop a draft of rules on media coverage of elections; and
- Conducted a baseline survey in mid-March and distributed its key findings and party specific results at the end of March.

Specific results this quarter include the following:

- NDI contributed to the campaign plans of six political parties and the media plans of five political parties;
- Nine major political parties signed CDT's Code of Conduct on March 27 (see [Appendix 1](#));
- AYJ participated directly in the work of a parliamentary committee and succeeded in getting 90 percent of what it proposed in the draft to be adopted in the final parliamentary decision.

II. BACKGROUND

Speculation regarding when early parliamentary elections would be held dominated the Montenegrin political scene in January. The main opposition party, the Socialist People's Party (SNP), rejected President Djukanovic's initial proposal that elections be held in late March on the grounds that the suggested time was too short to allow parties to prepare. President Djukanovic then suggested April 22, which the SNP accepted but not the Social Democratic Party (SDP).¹ While the SDP did not object to the date of early elections, it wanted to ensure that Djukanovic's proposal included a clause specifying that a referendum on independence would be held by the end of June. After almost one month of negotiations, representatives of parliamentary parties agreed at the end of January to hold parliamentary elections on April 22.

Another important political event in January was the meeting of President Djukanovic with Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica and Serbian Prime Minister Designate Zoran Djindjic. They met in Belgrade on January 17 to discuss the future relations between Serbia and Montenegro as outlined in the competing platforms proposed by Djukanovic and Kostunica. Djukanovic's platform outlines the creation of an independent Serbia and Montenegro with shared responsibility in the areas of defense, foreign policy, common market and a convertible currency. Kostunica's platform calls for preserving a loose Yugoslav Federation in which Serbia and Montenegro would not be independent states but would have joint responsibility in the areas of foreign policy, national defense, monetary system, customs, transport and communication, and

¹ The SDP, together with Djukanovic's Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) and the People's Party (NS), comprised the ruling coalition, "For Better Life," and has been a strong supporter of Montenegrin independence.

the protection of human rights and freedoms including social rights. No agreement was reached, but the sides may resume talks after the elections in Montenegro.

The April electoral showdown will set pro-independence forces, led by the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) and SDP coalition, “Victory for Montenegro, Democratic Coalition, Milo Djukanovic,” against the pro-Yugoslav forces led by the SNP, the People’s Party (NS) and non-parliamentary party Serbian National Party (SNS) coalition, “Together for Yugoslavia.” The elections will either prohibit or ordain an independence referendum. If the pro-independence parties win, then the new parliament would call the referendum as soon as possible, perhaps by the end of June although a referendum date could easily slip to the fall, particularly if there are further negotiations with Belgrade after the April 22 elections. If the vote is close or anti-independence parties win, then a referendum is unlikely.

In this political environment NDI focused its political party development activities on working with parties on campaign planning and media presentations. NDI has trained all major political parties other than the formerly Milosevic-allied Socialist People’s Party (SNP), including those from both the opposition and the governing coalition as well as parties both supporting and opposing independence for Montenegro. As a result of the SNP’s change in party leadership in February 2001 and new efforts to reform the party, NDI expects to begin discussions with the SNP about providing training for the party after the April elections.

Furthermore, this quarter NDI received additional funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to carry out two additional projects: polling (baseline survey and seven tracking polls) through the end of 2001 to assess the political parties’ current messages and advise them on their voter universe; and short-term assistance to nonpartisan election monitors. The latter project entails sending one advisor to work with the Center for Democratic Transition (CDT) to prepare and implement a strategic plan to observe the April 22 parliamentary elections. The advisor arrived in Podgorica on March 17 and is expected to stay until the end of April.

NDI’s specific objectives in 2001 are that political parties begin to implement democratic forms of internal debate and decision-making; political parties increase their direct contact with voters and solicit feedback from the grassroots on party positions; party municipal branches and other functional units (i.e., women’s groups, youth chapters, etc.) become more active in the life of the party; political parties improve the work of their caucuses inside parliament and more effectively integrate the caucus into general party activities including voter contact and media strategies; and existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government.

The long-term goal of NDI’s Montenegro program is to strengthen Montenegro’s emerging democratic political system through increased organizational capacity of and improved public outreach by political parties and through the initiation of direct participation in the political process by nongovernmental organizations as a means to promote civil society and broad-based citizen participation in political affairs. NDI began working with Montenegrin political parties with USAID funding from its Belgrade office in 1997 and opened an office in

Podgorica in February 1999, with several periods since that date during which the program in Montenegro was inactive due to security and political considerations.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

With the departure of the People's Party from the governing coalition at the end of December, this quarter began with all the political parties focused on negotiations over whether and when to schedule early parliamentary elections. By the middle of January it was clear that these elections would be held in the spring, with the exact date fixed at the end of the month. During these weeks, NDI's representatives held a series of discussions with six of the seven parliamentary parties to establish basic training outlines for the period up to the elections. As detailed below, these training programs focused on developing planning and organizational techniques within campaign and media campaign activities.

During this quarter NDI trained 461 individuals, including 439 political party leaders and activists and 22 journalists. NDI made several attempts to engage with the Socialist People's Party (SNP) but has not yet received a response.

Political Party Building

Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS)

Leadership Consultations

- In February, NDI held consultations with Presidential Chief of Staff Mladen Vukcevic on the need for a well-defined election plan and suggested roles for assembling an election team. The Institute advised Vukcevic on the importance of developing a unified message and coordinating its delivery with party branches.
- In February, NDI representatives met with four members of the DPS media team to discuss the need for the development of a clear and defined media plan as well as to comment on the team's campaign plan. NDI also highlighted the importance of a member of the media team being on the central HQ team.

Campaign Planning Seminars for the Municipal Branches

- In late February, NDI organized three one-day training programs for three regional groupings of DPS municipal branches. The first was held in Kotor for the six coastal branches (Bar, Budva, Herceg Novi, Kotor, Tivat and Ulcinj) and Cetinje. The second was held in Zabljak for the northwestern branches (Bijelo Polje, Mojkovac, Niksic, Pljevlja and Zabljak), and the third was held in Kolasin for the northeastern branches (Andrijevica, Berane, Danilovgrad, Kolasin, Plav and Rozaje).

The programs explained the importance and components of a campaign plan and research phase during a campaign. In addition to engaging participants in a hypothetical voter targeting exercise, NDI also talked about voter contact strategies, especially

emphasizing the importance of involvement of the top leadership. Groups were then split into municipalities so they could plan a voter contact strategy. In the report back, NDI demonstrated how all the various voter contact strategies overlapped and how all strategies had to be carefully placed on a large calendar in order to ensure that the branch had enough bodies so that everything would get done. Participant turnout was high at all training programs. Each branch brought between five and seven activists – most of whom were highly engaged – and there were many returnees from NDI’s December training programs.

Training for DPS Ministers

- In March, NDI trained eight ministers on door-to-door canvassing. The need for the ministers to set up constituency advice centers was also briefly discussed. Further consultations on how these centers should operate will be considered after the elections. Ministers left the training saying they appreciated all the work that NDI was doing and would certainly begin implementing some of the suggested techniques.

Social Democratic Party (SDP)

Leadership Consultations

- In early January, NDI met with SDP Vice President Miko Ilickovic to discuss his party’s campaign plan. NDI advised him on a number of suggestions and changes to the plan, including developing an overall party theme, staying on message, and assigning specific tasks to SDP election staff, and then agreed on a comprehensive training program throughout Montenegro. The training would focus on developing planning and organizational techniques within campaign and media campaign activities.
- At the end of January, NDI held consultations with the party leader and four of the six zone managers, all of whom are members of parliament (MPs). Zone managers were appointed in six areas throughout the country and were responsible for their assigned zone, which consists of three to six municipalities. Consultations focused on campaign planning with a special emphasis on the hypothetical voter targeting exercise. In the exercise, NDI estimated that if the SDP goal was five seats, the party needed 20,000 votes, and as the party leadership, it needed to get a commitment from each of the branches about how many votes could be delivered today and how many could be expected by the time of the elections. Then, based on these commitments, the zone managers needed to track the progress of each branch over time.

Media Seminars/Consultations

- In February, the SDP headquarter media and marketing team attended a training seminar in the NDI offices on developing a media and marketing campaign. The seminar examined team members’ roles and critiqued previous campaign materials and campaign ads. NDI also advised the team on establishing a clearly defined campaign plan and working as a single entity within a coalition.

- In February, the heads of the media teams from nine municipalities attended NDI's seminar on producing an effective newsletter and how to get the most out of local media.
- At the end of February, Misko Zekovic, head of the SDP's marketing team, asked for NDI's comments on some of his ideas regarding the upcoming campaign. A positive development was that his plans included a lot of what NDI had talked about at the previous seminar, for example, Zekovic started out by identifying the SDP target voters and then planned a campaign around them for the next 2 months.

Campaign Planning Workshops With the Municipal Branches

- Having provided the headquarters in January with an idea of what the overall campaign strategy should look like, NDI began to conduct campaign planning workshops for individual branches or groups of branches throughout Montenegro in February, including the following:
 - Two afternoon workshops in early February for the municipal branch in Niksic;
 - One all-day workshop in mid-February in Kotor for the municipal branches of Herceg Novi, Kotor, Tivat and Zabljak;
 - One afternoon training in mid-February in Kotor for the Kotor and Zabljak municipal branches on questionnaire development;
 - One all-day workshop in mid-February in Budva for the municipal branches of Bar, Budva and Ulcinj (the southern coast branches);
 - One two-day workshop in mid-February in Kolasin for the municipal branches of Kolasin, Danilovgrad and Cetinje; and
 - One all-day workshop in late February in Bijelo Polje for the municipal branches of Andrijevica, Berane, Bijelo Polje, Plav, Pljevlja and Rozaje.

The workshops covered how to write a campaign plan, its importance and its components; research; the hypothetical voter targeting exercise; voter contact techniques; and planning. If there was time, NDI also conducted sessions on fundraising (Niksic) and message development (Kolasin). However, the main goal was to develop or begin developing a written plan.

Leadership Canvassing

- In mid-March NDI met with SDP leaders to discuss canvassing techniques, constituency relations, on-going contact with the electorate and servicing constituency centers.

Media Presentation Skills

- In mid-March, NDI trained two SDP leaders on camera techniques with an emphasis on understanding that statements and/or comments need to be addressed in a different manner than those issued to the press.

Liberal Alliance of Montenegro (LSCG)

Leadership Campaign Planning Consultation

- At the end of January, NDI met briefly with the party's president, spokesperson, and a member of the executive committee on hypothetical voter targeting exercise and discussed the need to develop a plan to get the number of votes the party needed to win its seat goal.

Campaign Planning Workshop for Municipal Branches

- In early February, NDI held a two-day campaign planning training in Kotor for seven party branches (Bar, Berane, Budva, Cetinje, Kolasin, Kotor and Niksic) deemed by the party's leadership to have the most potential to garner votes for the party. On the first day, NDI trained participants on the importance and components of a campaign plan, campaign research, voter targeting (using an exercise demonstrating that the Liberals needed to find approximately 40,000 votes if the party intended to get 10 seats in parliament), strategy and tactics, and the role of the campaign team and headquarters. On the second day, NDI conducted a message box exercise and discussed the importance and methods of voter contact. Then, NDI split the group into municipalities for an hour to develop campaign plans. In addition, the party branches made plans for identifying and concentrating their message on three themes in the campaign and developed extensive plans for using local radio, recruiting volunteers and conducting door-to-door surveys.

Training for the Media Team

- In mid-February, NDI conducted a seminar for the media team within the party on the importance of devising a clearly defined media plan, the need to choose specific themes for a specific duration, and the need to stay on message.
- In mid-March, NDI met with Sasa Markovic from the media team to discuss the media campaign. He told NDI that his party conducted out a leaflet drop in the targeted municipalities but did not produce posters because leaders thought that money could be used more wisely.

Leadership Meeting

- In early-March, NDI met with Party President Miroslav Vickovic to inform him of NDI's work with the party to date. In particular, NDI highlighted the party

leadership's failure to provide guidance to and communicate with the municipal branches.

- In mid-March, NDI met with party leadership to discuss canvassing such as door-to-door, constituency relations, on-going contact with the electorate, and setting up constituency centers to operate throughout their targeted municipalities on a long-term basis.

Follow-up Campaign Planning Workshop

- In mid-March, NDI was invited by the most active branches – Bar, Cetinje, Kotor and Niksic – to conduct follow-up training with the youth leadership. This training focused on assessing the current situation of the party and provided group exercises on hypothetical voter targeting. In addition, at the request of the youth leaders, NDI led a lecture/discussion on fundraising and get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts.

Ethnic Albanian Parties (DUA & DSCG)

- In early March, NDI held a training program for 40 members of the Democratic Union of Albanians (DUA) and the Democratic Alliance in Montenegro (DSCG). Each party was asked to invite 20 members from its branches in Ulcinj, Plav, Rozaje and Tuzi. The first day covered the importance and components of a campaign plan, a hypothetical voter targeting exercise, the campaign structure and a message box exercise. The second day consisted of a series of workshops on message and media, voter contact techniques and campaign planning.

People's Party (NS)

Campaign Planning for NS Municipal Youth Branches

- In February and early March, NDI held training seminars with party youth wings on how to conduct door-to-door surveys. Initially, six branches were identified for the training: Pljevlja, Bijelo Polje, Berane, Niksic, Podgorica and Herceg Novi. Later, the Plav and Andrijevisa branches were invited to a training seminar in Berane and the Zabljak branch joined the seminar in Pljevlja. NDI began the training by explaining the importance and components of campaign plans, the need to build a voter file for each polling station and the need to examine the party's accomplishments, as well as its shortfalls on which it could be criticized. NDI prepared a hypothetical targeting exercise based on the 1998 parliamentary election results and a hypothetical seat goal. To obtain 10 seats in parliament, the party would have to find 40,000 votes. The rest of the training concentrated on conducting interactive workshops on questionnaires and how to conduct door-to-door canvassing, designing and using leaflets, recruiting and managing volunteers, and planning effectively.

Attempting to Re-engage at the HQ Level and on the Media Front

- In early March, NDI met with party president Dragan Soc to discuss how NDI could engage the leadership of the party, and Soc suggested training on media relations and communications. A training seminar was held in mid-March for six representatives, including the party vice president, that focused on basic camera techniques and the importance of writing different speeches for different audiences. The difference between electronic media and print media was also highlighted in relation to writing press releases.

Additional Political Party Building Activity – Polling

With additional funding from USAID, NDI fielded the baseline survey in each of Montenegro's 21 municipalities from March 15 to 19 to determine voters' attitudes toward independence, party-based messaging, Balkan and/or international issues, and Montenegrin affairs, including quality of life issues. The poll canvassed 1,265 residents. A report on key findings was delivered to USAID on March 27 and released to the media in Montenegro on March 28. On March 28, NDI delivered the results to the NS and conducted a briefing for the party leader. That evening, NDI poll results were announced as the second news item on both State TV and TV Montena. On March 29, NDI briefed the LSCG, DPS and SDP on the poll results and their specific voter universes. Later in the day, NDI conducted a briefing for the international community at the regular OSCE election meeting. NDI continued with efforts to meet with SNP leader Predrag Bulatovic to discuss the poll, but no response was received. Since the two Albanian Parties, DUA and DSCG, were not able to travel to Podgorica to receive the results, NDI e-mailed them the key findings.

The main purpose of the polling was to demonstrate to political parties the utility of strategic polling as a tool to gauge and better respond to the interests and concerns of voters as they develop their platforms and voter outreach programs during this election cycle and beyond. The first round of polling found that economic issues, such as unemployment, were the most important to voters, with state status (independence) ranking a distant second.

Nonpartisan Political Advocacy

Center for Democratic Transition (CDT)

In January and February, NDI met with CDT representatives to help them primarily with fundraising but also to assist them with developing plans for monitoring the upcoming parliamentary elections. Additional funding from USAID enabled NDI to intensify its work with CDT at the end of the quarter. To this end, NDI deployed a short-term domestic monitoring advisor in mid-March who is expected to stay until the end of April.

CDT received NDI support with writing the political party Code of Conduct, developing a strategy for getting parties to sign the Code, and devising the press outreach. In addition to the Code of Conduct, NDI assisted CDT with developing its media and visibility campaign by helping CDT staff identify its target audience and develop storyboards for the advertising

campaign. At the end of March, NDI held a training seminar for regional/municipal coordinators on the volunteer recruiting process and on campaign monitoring as well as developing agendas for training regional staff and monitors.

While NDI's primary work with CDT focused on developing and implementing its monitoring effort, NDI also worked with CDT representatives on developing their professionalism and organizational abilities so as to make the organization more effective in its work.

Association of Young Journalists (AYJ)

In January, NDI met with AYJ representatives to assist them with the development of an initiative to advocate for changes in the rules governing media in the referendum campaign period.

Media Training

In mid-March, NDI held a number of meetings with journalists from State Radio and TV as well as independent TV on presenting news and current affairs programs in a fair and unbiased manner.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

During this quarter, NDI saw significant progress toward accomplishing two program objectives:

Objective: Political parties increase their direct contact with voters and solicit feedback from the grassroots on party positions.

- Based on the intensive campaign planning and media training seminars conducted this quarter, NDI contributed to the campaign plans of six political parties (the DPS, the SDP, the NS, the LSCG, the DUA and the DSCG) and the media plans of five political parties (the DPS, the SDP, the LSCG, the DUA and the DSCG).
- All parties are now using voter identification techniques learned from NDI. They now understand how to evaluate the electorate by identifying "base," "potential" and "never" supporters, and are drawing up municipality-by-municipality voter lists using these categories.
- Based on NDI's continued training on voter contact, most parties have begun employing personal voter contact techniques as a key part of the campaign. Some parties have used their highest officials to engage in door-to-door campaigning.
- Based on NDI's continued training on questionnaire development, questionnaires have become an accepted and valuable practice by most parties. The DPS prepared a two-page questionnaire that was delivered to voters throughout the country, with a cover note from

President Djukanovic asking for the voter's input. Based on NDI's training in November 2000, SDP/Danilovgrad branch distributed 300 questionnaires and SDP/Cetinje branch distributed 500 questionnaires in February.

- Based on NDI's continued training on newsletter development, the practice of publishing branch newsletters has become more accepted among parties. SDP/Budva branch has established a practice of periodic newsletters for its members and interested individuals and has already published three newsletters since November 2000. SDP/Herceg Novi branch has published two newsletters as well.
- Based on NDI's December 2000 training with DPS branches on constituency servicing, the DPS/Kolasin branch sent letters to voters addressing personal and particular concerns that were signed by the ministers from the party.

Objective: Existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government.

- Based on meetings with NDI in January and February, CDT and AYJ prepared plans for monitoring the upcoming parliamentary elections and the media, respectively. Both proposals received funding from the Canadian International Development Agency.
- Based on meetings with NDI in January, AYJ developed a draft for the rules governing media coverage of campaigns and elections, which was then used as the negotiating document in the parliamentary working committee on this issue. AYJ participated in the parliamentary committee and succeeded in getting 90 percent of what it proposed in the draft to be adopted in the final parliamentary decision. Most important among these was that responsibility for balance in media reporting is to be left to the editors, rather than legislated by a multiparty commission. This result encouraged AYJ to push successfully for the establishment of a semi-independent council for public information freedom. Creation of this council was mandated by the Public Information Law adopted several years ago but was never implemented until this year. This council will serve as the public's watchdog for media fairness. Although AYJ is not a part of the council, the council will use the AYJ media monitoring results in its work.
- Based on meetings with NDI in March, CDT completed a Code of Conduct for political parties in election campaigns, which was signed by nine major political parties on March 27 (copy attached in Annex 1). As a result of the signing ceremony, CDT was featured in the *Dan* and *Pobjeda* newspapers, on Montena TV and Elmag TV, and on State Radio, while State TV conducted a long interview with CDT. Shortly before the Code of Conduct was signed, CDT, with NDI assistance, developed one full-page newspaper ad that ran in *Vijesti*, thereby raising its profile and credibility.
- Based on meetings with NDI in March, CDT defined its message for the election monitoring effort, which is "Let Freedom Be Your Choice, Too: Freedom of Opinion, Freedom of Voice, Freedom to Choose, Freedom to Vote, Freedom to Be Yourself! CDT will protect your

freedoms by monitoring the campaign and election day.” CDT also designed credentials for each observer (to be used in lieu of T-shirts, caps, or buttons) and created full-page newspaper ads, radio ads, TV ads, and leaflets/posters. Lastly, CDT created manuals for observers that will be distributed during the last three weeks of the campaign.

- Based on NDI’s work with CDT on organizational development, CDT created a job description for each team and clearly defined responsibilities for the items that fall within the job description. CDT also instituted a daily 5:00 PM staff meeting with the same established agenda in which the staff members present their accomplishments and review the “to do” list.

To a more limited degree, NDI saw progress on the third program objective as follows:

Objective: Party municipal branches and other functional units (i.e., women’s groups, youth chapters, etc.) become more active in the life of the party.

- As noted in the Activities section above, for several parties the role of the municipal branch has become more central to campaign planning and implementation. The results listed under the first objective above also demonstrate how the party branches are increasing their activities in voter identification, newsletter and questionnaire development, and campaign planning. Among SDP branches, for example, there are written campaign plans in the six coastal branches, four of the northern branches and three of the central branches.
- The DPS is also showing signs of paying more attention to the role branches should play within the party. At the request of NDI, at least one member of the DPS executive board attended each of the training seminars with the municipal branches. While the quality of participation varied, this was a useful step in improving contact and communication between party leadership and the branches.
- The leadership of three parties (DPS, SDP and People’s Party) specifically asked NDI for an evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of their municipal branch and party structure. This is a reflection of greater understanding within the parties about the importance of their branches in the parties’ work.

V. EVALUATION

The intensified party training schedule throughout February and March is paying off in terms of progress toward NDI’s objectives in that area, particularly in getting key parties to recognize the importance of implementing voter identification techniques and constituency outreach methods (i.e., developing newsletters and questionnaires). Further evidence of the results of NDI’s work should become available through the official election campaign that began in earnest just as this quarter was concluding.

The focus in this quarter among the political parties on preparing for the April parliamentary elections did distract the parties from working with NDI on the objective of having political parties begin to implement democratic forms of internal debate and decision-making. Some developments, such as the interest of the DPS, SDP and People’s Party in hearing

evaluations of party strengths and weaknesses, indicate that they are aware of the need for reform, particularly in how their parties make decisions and communicate internally. The campaigns, however, have also demonstrated again that all parties remain highly centralized institutions that have much work to do in becoming more democratic bodies.

It is also important to note several other areas where NDI can expand its work to achieve its objectives. One is to expand contacts with the Socialist People's Party (SNP), which is the most important Montenegrin party not to have received training. As a result of the SNP's change in party leadership in February 2001 and new efforts to reform the party, NDI expects to begin discussions with the SNP about providing training for the party after the April elections.

While work to date has had an impact on increasing the role of the branches in the functioning of several parties, further efforts are needed. NDI hopes to engage more systematically with youth and women's organizations in the parties to open participation in party activities.

Additionally, because the parliament dissolved in early February, NDI was unable to train political parties to improve the work of their caucuses inside parliament and more effectively integrate the caucus into general party activities, including voter contact and media strategies. At present, no useful training on these issues can be undertaken, as no parliament is in place. Depending on the outcome of the April elections and the unfolding of events related to the possible calling of a referendum, it may still be several months before any parliament that has a serious legislative agenda is formed and begins functioning. At that time, NDI plans to resume work on improving the functioning of party caucuses within the parliament.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

In the coming months, NDI envisions conducting the activities outlined below. However, these activities will depend on the outcome of the parliamentary elections and the date when and if a referendum on independence is called.

Political Party Building:

- Assess the impact of training provided throughout February and March, particularly as it relates to the conduct of the parties' election campaigns;
- Proceed with the implementation of seven tracking polls that will be completed by the end of 2001;
- Brief parties, Montenegrin media and international community on the polling results;
- Organize a multiparty seminar on developing political and presentation skills for either women political activists or youth;
- Advise parties on the creation of 'Constituency Service Centers' throughout Montenegro;

- Work with the parties to improve their internal structures, especially as regards the involvement of municipal branches and other constituent bodies (womens' and youth organizations) in decision-making; and
- Train parties on improving the functioning of party caucuses within the parliament, if the potential electoral calendar permits a full parliamentary session to be held.

NGO Advocacy:

- Work with nonpartisan domestic monitoring groups to strengthen their organizational and outreach capabilities; and
- Assist nonpartisan domestic monitoring groups with preparations for monitoring the possible referendum on independence.

APPENDIX 1

POLITICAL PARTIES AGREEMENT ABOUT CODE OF CONDUCT DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

An essential part of free and fair elections is the freedom of political campaigning. Everyone has the right to put forward their political principals and ideas without threat or fear. Freedom of political campaigning also carries the responsibility to ensure that all other political party's rights are not infringed.

The political parties who have signed onto this Code of Conduct have agreed to go support free and fair campaign practices. It is each party's responsibility to educate candidates, party workers and supporters of the rules outlined in this Code. It is also essential that each party take necessary steps to ensure its compliance.

- The political parties will respect rival political parties rights to campaign freely during the election period.
- All parties should consider it a responsibility to educate supporters and voters on the voting process and the secret ballot.
- The political parties and their candidates shall extend their cooperation to Election Day workers to ensure orderly voting and voting rights.
- All political parties and candidates should avoid inflammatory messages and remarks in reference ethnic, religious and national identities.
- All political parties and candidates should avoid arrangements involving public meetings, rallies at the same time and in the same place. If such a conflict of time and place should arise, party leaders should co-operate in good faith to find a reasonable accommodation.
- The political parties, candidates and worker shall avoid all corrupt practices such as bribing the voters with money or gifts.
- The political parties should avoid using national or local government resources, office equipment or vehicles for campaign activities.
- The political parties, candidates and workers will not intimidate or pressure voters in any form.
- The political parties, the candidates and workers shall not obstruct or interrupt rallies, meetings or speeches by rival political parties.
- The party activists should not steal or destroy campaign materials of other parties.

- The party workers should respect public and private property and not post signs or paint graffiti in non-designated places.
- The political parties, candidates and workers should refrain from deliberate dissemination of false information to defame other political parties and their leaders.
- Party leaders will instruct their members and supporter that no weapon of any kind may be brought to any political rally, meeting or voting place.
- Speakers at political rallies will avoid using language, which threatens or incites violence in any form against any other person or group of persons.
- If the will of the people is clear on Election Day without major election violations, all parties should respect the results of the election.
- Party Leader Signatures

D P S / Mr. Miodrag Vukovic	-----
S N P / Mr. Dragan Koprivica	-----
S D P / Mr. Ranko Krivokapic	-----
N S / Mr. Predrag Popovic	-----
D U A / Mr. Ferhat Dinosa	-----
N S S / Mr. Dusko Jovanovic	-----
S N S / Mr. Bozidar Bojovic	-----
N S / Mr. Novak Kilibarda	-----
D S / Mr. Mehmed Bardhi	-----